World Alliance News Letter

Vol. XXIV, No. 9 November, 1948

Religion's Response to the Challenge of Our Time

The future of our world becomes more uncertain very day, despite the best efforts of the United Nations to establish world order. Perhaps small wars n scattered areas of the earth must be expected as n inescapable aftermath of global war. The nations' everish building up of gigantic war machines, how-ver, seems to push the world toward catastrophe.

The United States plans to allocate nearly $15 bil-ion of its next annual budget for military expendi-ures; and the government experts demand a con-iderably larger amount. Already in 1948, this country pends 80% of its $42,200,000,000 budget for "military roduction, foreign programs, veterans' pensions, and ther costs resulting directly from the last war". imilarly both the Soviet Union and Britain are xpending for rearmament twice as much as ten years go, and France one-third more.

The vast outlay for military expenditures, still harply on the increase, seriously impedes the potential vorld economic recovery. Clearly the world cannot ave *both* reconstruction after the ravages of World War II *and* preparation on a colossal scale for another var. The desperate needs of human beings the world round can never be met while we spend billions for earmament and begrudge millions for the tasks of eace. The requirements of world order and authen-ic peace cannot be met merely by the rapid enlarge-nent of military resources, whatever may be the legiti-nate needs of each country for adequate defense. The vorld's peoples live in an uneasy armed truce. Yet hey long with passionate intensity for a breathing pell to rebuild their shattered homes and lives.

An increasing number of scientists, educators, and noralists agree that mid-twentieth century man stands ankrupt before the welter of world problems, each f terrifying complexity. The grim history of this entury is finally cutting through the fatty tissues of ur secular complacency as these contemporary leaders f thought trace the travail of our generation to noral and spiritual roots. They contend that the risis of our culture can be resolved short of disaster nly as religion comes to the rescue. Religion, they rge, must grip modern secular man and impel his omplete acceptance of a dual obligation: his moral reedom and the unity of mankind.

High ethical religion gives short shift to both the alse optimism of "inevitable progress" and the help-ess pessimism of "inevitable doom". The concept of man as a pawn—whether of Fate, Nature, *Volk,* or State—is rejected for the Biblical view of man. That is, man has moral freedom and is responsible for his decisions and actions. He must therefore be held accountable for the international muddle in which he finds himself today and also for whatever future our western civilization may have. In this connection and in the light of the current war hysteria, apparently more prevalent in the United States than anywhere else in the world, we do well to take to heart the word of the Federal Council of Churches: "Our people should reject fatalism about war. War is not inevitable. If it should come, it would be because of conditions that man could have changed."

Prophetic religion further proclaims that mankind is essentially one. Only the accidents of history and geography or the evil pretensions of some human beings have splintered mankind into divisive classes and groups. Men of faith have therefore ever insisted that we must unify mankind morally, even as in recent times the world has been unified physically.

In recognition of the immediate need to translate religion's task into a concrete program of action, the Church Peace Union last June convened in New York City the Conference of Religion for Moral and Spiritual Support of the United Nations. After making a comprehensive analysis of the moral breakdown of our day and the "state of utmost peril" in which mankind lives, the Conference stressed the unique place of religion as a force for world unity and developed a practical program. The program is to be carried into action by the World Alliance for International Friendship through Religion, which came to birth at this Conference.

Like its parents, the Church Peace Union and the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, the new World Alliance aims to work, through the major religions, for world order and enduring international peace. Its fundamental predicates—man's moral freedom and the unity of mankind—stem from the faith of the world's religions. It therefore believes that all people can and must live together in amity. The world which modern science has made into a neighborhood must, if it is to endure, be welded into a brotherhood. To this task, moral and spiritual in nature, the World Alliance dedicates its efforts and resources. This is its response to the challenge of an age immured by "sickness unto death".

BROOKLYN PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

Items of Interest

Public Meeting at Hunter College

Under the auspices of the World Alliance for International Friendship through Religion, a mass meeting will be held in the Hunter College Theater on the evening of January 20th. A feature of the program will be a sequel to the dramatic sketch presented by Gotham Radio Productions at the Conference of Religion for Moral and Spiritual Support of the United Nations at Town Hall, New York, last June. Details concerning the musical program and list of internationally known speakers to appear that evening will be included in the next issue of the *News Letter.*

Fifth International Essay Contest

The American judges for the Fifth International Essay Competition have selected three essays from the Senior division to send to Geneva, where they will be judged with essays written by youth of other nations. None of the Junior essays was thought to be worthy of consideration in the international contest.

This essay competition has been sponsored by the World Alliance and the Youth Department of the World Council of Churches. The subject for the Senior Group was: "As a Young Christian, What Concrete Action Should You Take for World Peace Today?"

A Symposium on the New World Alliance

Four members of the International Provisional Committee here present their hopes for the World Alliance for International Friendship through Religion:

Social Justice and International Brotherhood

The complete name of the new World Alliance sufficiently indicates its comprehensive aims. It works, like its predecessor, the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, to nurture what may be called an "unofficial ecumenical movement" among the major world religions. The movement has a single all-embracing purpose: to unite the members of the great religions in the common pursuit of social justice and international brotherhood. By the development of deeper understanding among all peoples, in the spirit of reconciliation, the World Alliance seeks to bring together all religious resources into a common effort — moral and spiritual in nature — to establish and maintain world order and peace.

—Pasteur André Bouvier,
Geneva, Switzerland.

A Non-Partisan World Body

My main interest in the World Alliance for International Friendship through Religion is that it may be the means to discover, test, and bring into prominence before the world a body of men and women recognized for their practical wisdom, thoroughly permeated with moral and spiritual ideals, and completely free from any partisanship in matters of class, color, creed, and conflicting national contentions. If each of the proposed national councils can nominate some of its qualified national leaders and if a number of these can be elected by majority vote at a world conference, we may have, for the first time, a body of genuine world opinion on all issues of international, inter-racial, inter-cultural, and inter-religious importance. The pronouncements of such a body need not claim compulsory authority, but will nevertheless exercise a compelling influence for good on the thoughts and emotions of our generation sadly bent by materialism into confusing and dangerous plights.

—William Hung, *Professor of History at Harvard University and formerly Dean of Yenching University.*

Not a Merger of Religions

The *World Alliance for International Friendship through Religion* seems to me one of the most significant, truly prophetic, and widely religious movements ever envisioned.

Some Christians, perhaps many, may look askance at it, as may some adherents of every religion, seeing in it a denial of the essential importance of their own faith. But the new World Alliance does not contemplate any merging of religions, or any weakening of particular religious convictions. It simply assumes that at the basis and root of each real religion is a faith in common moral and spiritual influence in the service of true freedom and peace throughout the world. Why then should they not work together for that common objective?

—William Pierson Merrill, *President Emeritus, the Church Peace Union.*

A Moral Force For Peace

This new organization is a modern rededication by persons of goodwill from among the laity and clergy of the world's great religions to the cardinal principle that for nations to live in peace, the individuals in those nations must first work together for that peace.

The moral voice of each world religion cries for peace. What is lacking, however, is an adequate organization that can develop into a determined alliance of those men and women of goodwill who believe in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man and who propose to work together to give reality to their religious ideal of enduring world peace. The new World Alliance is designed to fulfil this need. It aims to ferret out the causes of war and to seek their solution through the United Nations.

This organization is a necessary supplement to UNESCO since it goes beyond the latter's scope by mobilizing the members of the major religious faiths as such for world peace with justice.

—H. William Ihrig, *attorney of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.*

The European Recovery Program at Midyear

Mr. Melvin J. Fox, Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and director of the Washington office, an authority on international economics and the Marshall Plan, sends us this analysis:

Americans are sometimes slow to make up their minds. Once a policy is decided however, they tend to be very impatient to see it materialize. Ten months were required, from June 5, 1947, until April 3, 1948, to develop the "simple suggestion" made by Secretary Marshall at Harvard into a program of American aid to Europe. It was not until June 28th that this program was finally implemented by an Appropriation Act. Once the five billion dollars were authorized for the rehabilitation of European agriculture and industry, there was an impatience to see immediate results and a speedy end of the dreadful paralysis which had overcome the economies of the countries of Western Europe. This impatience derives partly from the traditional American pattern of "getting things done", and more, perhaps, from our incomparable and in some respects unlimited resources and our experience and skill in transforming those resources into all manner of goods and gadgets.

To Improve Pre-War Performance

Properly to appraise the program at this intermediate stage, it is necessary to recall the extent of damage to the physical and human resources of Europe that was inflicted by the war and by the dislocations of the post-war period. It is important to remember that the job was not one merely of restoring pre-war facilities and production levels but of vastly improving pre-war performance.

The importance of this later factor in restoring the countries of Europe to a self-sufficient basis by 1952 as envisioned by the Foreign Assistance Act may be sharply illustrated by several facts. Even before the war the American worker had one and three-quarters times the capital equipment available for the British worker; furthermore, output per man hour in the U.S. was 2.8 times as high as in Britain. In some industries, such as pig iron, our output was as great as four and half times the output per man hour in Britain. Promethean efforts would be necessary to restore production, reestablish trade channels and the exchange of currencies necessary to sustain the flow of trade. Although the major effort (about 95%) would have to come from the participating countries, the aid offered by the U.S. was of vital importance. Speed in applying that aid was important.

Large Gains in Short Period

Measured in physical terms, the Economic Cooperation Administration has done an enormous job in the six and a half months since it was established by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948 (April 3rd), particularly considering the fact that not four months have elapsed since the funds for its operation were authorized. Although Paul G. Hoffman, the Administrator, began to set up an organization in the first week of April and the participating countries in Europe established their Organization of European Economic Cooperation on April 16th, the European Recovery Program could not really begin to move until the Foreign Aid Authorization Act was cleared by the U.S. Congress on June 28th.

In the intervening months, the largest peacetime program for international economic assistance has become firmly established. In the initial period, the Administrator has had the impossible job of maintaining the flow of urgently needed aid while simultaneously trying to work out effective techniques to determine requirements, screen requests, and arrange financing and procurement methods. The administration has also had to develop operating cooperation with the participating countries, as well as with the agencies of the U.S. Government in Washington and specialized agencies of the United Nations in Europe. Provisions have also been made for personnel and administrative machinery to handle these complex problems here and in Europe.

New Procedures Developed

At the same time, the Administrator has been required by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948 to develop entirely new procedures to guarantee the convertibility of U.S. investments in Europe — not more than $300,000,000 up to April 3, 1862 — determine effective use of "counterpart funds", assist the participating countries in the establishment of an intra-European currency clearing system, and reexamine the policy of plant removal from Germany.

The achievements of the E.R.P. in this short period are noteworthy. An effective E.C.A. office has been created in Washington with an operating arm under Mr. Harriman in Paris. In each participating country Missions have been set up that are working effectively with the recipient countries. A most impressive organization, established by the sixteen original participating countries in Paris, works closely with each participant as well as with E.C.A. in Paris and in Washington. If it is true as reported from time to time even by top U.S. officials that there has not been sufficient cooperation among the participating countries, never in history has better groundwork for effective cooperation been laid down.

A second article by Mr. Fox in which he gives figures and detailed information concerning the ERP, will appear in the December issue of the News Letter.

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A Visit to Europe—1948

Colonel Charles L. Marburg, Vice-President and Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Church Peace Union, sends us his impressions gathered from discussions with national and international leaders in Europe this past summer:

There is an interesting contrast between public thinking in America on the United Nations and that in Europe. In America there are many suggestions for revision or implementation of the Charter, but in Europe criticism is levelled at the spirit in which the powers interpret and apply the Charter. European leaders see more clearly the underlying cultural and economic differences, as important as political differences in creating the difficulties which make for misunderstanding among the peoples of the world. Theirs may be the soundest approach to one world; we in this country may be laying too much stress, as it were, "on the statutes and not enough on the development and understanding of the common law".

Pessimism Pervades France

During a fortnight spent in France I talked with many political figures such as Spaak and Ramadier, as well as to top military men and industrialists. I also discussed with many of the "little people" of France, the problems that were foremost in their minds. A spirit of fatalism causes the French people to live, not from one day to the next, but from one moment to the next. There appeared to be a universal acceptance of the idea that the past way of life could not be salvaged, that things would grow still worse, and that de Gaulle would emerge as a political power and dictator of France. I had at no time the impression that de Gaulle was personally popular, but simply that he held out to the French people the one hope for the restoration of order and stability within their country.

Wartime Vigor Shattered

The unthinking stopped there, but the thinking were troubled by the specter, once again, of a dictator, of bloodshed and of the suppression of personal liberties and democratic principles as occurred under Napoleon III. Some even went so far as to state that de Gaulle had traded with the communists and pointed out that he had recalled Torres from Moscow. They also noted the coalition vote of Communists and de Gaullists in favor of a general election. At the war's end the people of France had been given a common purpose by the Resistance. This purpose was manifest by the vigor with which the French started to rebuild this vigor and common purpose seems to lie shattered a new France. Today, barely three short years later, by disillusionment and uncertainty about the future. The specter of communism and the Soviet war machine is ever present in France, despite the fact that numerically the French Communist Party is weaker than a year ago. But the Republican People's Movement in France has been greatly strengthened by the purging of its France first and communist elements which were in influential positions and numbers a year ago.

Everyone in France recognizes the justice of industrial increased wage demands, for France had no industrial war boom such as had the United States and Britain. The farmer and the merchant have grown fat on high prices resulting from a scarcity of farm products and commodities, but industry as a whole has seen only lean years. The disparity between the purchasing power of industrial workers and the farmers and merchants is not a healthy one, but many people fear the results of a greatly increased purchasing power of so large a segment of the population when the country's economy may not be able to stand it. Every Frenchman knows the meaning of inflation, and the threat of an uncontrolled inflation is second only to a fearsome reality of social upheaval and Russian dominance. A statement which is hard to refute is that if Russia really wants war and invades France, the Communist Fifth Column within France can so paralyze military resistance that American aid cannot be effective in time to prevent irreparable damage to France.

Quality and Quantity of Food Improved

Enough of the dark side of the picture in France. As the French said, everything was available if you had the money to buy it. This may be a slight overstatement, but most certainly there is a very marked improvement over last year in the quantity and quality of available food and merchandise in the shops. But because of the uncertainty about war and what the future holds, there is not an equal improvement in the outlook of the people.

In Britain too there is a distinct improvement in the amount of merchandise and food available to the public. However, in England there is a marked psychological improvement. The man in the street, on the whole, seems happier and more content. The somewhat vehement criticism of the individual Cabinet Ministers, so prevalent last year, has largely disappeared. The logical consequence is that general criticism of the Government in power has increased, but on the whole has been mild. The surplus cash in the pocket of the industrial worker, the result of the war boom in wages, has largely disappeared; and I cannot help feeling that this is an important factor in the happier state of mind which one generally finds in England today. For when a man has a potential purchasing power without the possibility of using it, he is much less contented than when he knows that something is available and after a little work and saving he may be able to possess it.

FOCUS> on the Churches' Work for World Order

"NOW, DO LET THE LADY COME UP FRONT." —Sharpe in the *Glasgow Bulletin*

"We the Peoples of the United Nations . . ."

as a matter of practical politics we find we can do more, let us by all means help to form a series of ecial groupings for peace. But before we conclude at this must be our maximum effort let us see ether we cannot lay the basis for a coalition for ace that is potentially as wide as the membership the United Nations. Let us not presume that only is concealed in 'the giant mass of things to come'. r action today can be evidence of a hope that the l goal can be achieved ultimately. And perhaps very reiteration of that hope can itself bring the a little nearer."

—HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG in *Foreign Affairs* magazine.

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he need at this session of the General Assembly and subsequent months is to achieve, or at least to move rer, a settlement of the major issues which now front us. . . . Some of these matters are on the nda of the United Nations, others, such as those ling with the peace settlements, are to be dealt h in other forums. Nevertheless, whatever the um, as Members of the United Nations, we are all ject to the principles of the Charter."

—Secretary of State GEORGE C. MARSHALL.

"In a world so interdependent, and yet equipped with the most far-reaching weapons of destruction, peace must be more than a respite between wars. It must be more than a diplomatic game played by the rules of nations. It must be an active search for a better life, an unremitting drive for greater freedom and prosperity for all people. To achieve such a peace, it is essential that men and women of all nations know and understand one another. . . . But governments alone cannot do the job. . . . In a democracy such as ours, it is the people who, in the long run, determine the course their government will follow and enable it to reach the goal. Private groups and organizations have a vital function to perform in the promotion of international goodwill." —HOWLAND H. SARGEANT in *The Woman's Press.*

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". . . if the nations agreed to form and accept a world government they probably would not need it! They would be able to make the voluntary association as it now exists accomplish all the things which a world government might hope to accomplish. . . . I can see no hope of forming a world government if we cannot keep out of war and use the machinery we now have in the United Nations to keep the peace."

—MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT.

On the Political Front

The U. N. at Work

Throughout the hundreds of United Nations meetings that have taken place in Paris this fall the theme has been, as it was at Flushing Meadows and Lake Success: the Russian-United States power struggle. While debate continued, world statesmen kept an eye on the political fronts in Asia, the Middle East, and Western Europe. What they saw gave both groups a mixture of anxiety and satisfaction. In Asia, with revolt in Southern Korea and damaging blows being inflicted on the Chinese Nationalist Government, the position of the West had deteriorated. In Western Europe optimistic reports on E.R.P. and the drawing together of France, Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg indicated that American policy had stemmed the shift to the left. The Middle Eastern situation remained confused and uncertain.

A final grappling with the Palestine partition problem was delayed. The U.N. truce has been broken in both northern and southern Palestine with fighting between Israeli and Syrian and Egyptian forces. The reluctance of the western powers to tackle Palestine may vanish after the national elections in the United States.

There has been no break in the atomic energy deadlock. Indeed the outlook seemed so discouraging that the United States delegation came to Paris determined to halt operation of the Atomic Energy Commission until a better international climate prevailed. The majority of the Commission have insisted on a rigid veto-less control as necessary in any effective plan. The Russian bloc has adamantly refused to relinquish veto power. As a counter proposal the Russians have suggested outlawing of the atomic bomb and Security Council control with veto power. As a result of pressure from the small and middle powers the Assembly voted for the continuance of work in the Atomic Energy Commission, endorsing the U. S. control plan.

In the Security Council the Berlin blockade has provided the two giants further cause for struggle. The Berlin situation was put on the agenda by the Western Powers as constituting a threat to peace; the Russians have objected bitterly. They have countered the Western charge of using duress to make all of Berlin a Russian controlled city by accusing their rivals of trying to build an independent Western Germany in violation of earlier treaties. Here too the uneasy smaller powers have sought compromise. They have resisted efforts of Britain to persuade the Security Council to censure Russia while urging that the blockade be lifted.

In these past weeks the smaller nations have been playing a more significant role in the U.N. They have tried and in some cases succeeded in curbing the rashness of Big Power moves. The mutual distrust and fear have not lessened in the case of the two giant however. America's concern has been expressed in suc statements as Ambassador Austin's: "The Communi states have set up a closed system and . . . have draw an Iron Curtain behind which things go on in secret And Mr. Vishinsky in reply to charges of obstructio ism asks, "How can we expect that . . . your majori will be just? How can we expect that we will b secure?"

In the Minds of Men

The national commission of the United Natio Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organizatio recently meeting in Boston, laid plans for the gener conference of UNESCO to convene this month in Be rut, Lebanon. The commission declared that a mo effective strategy must be devised to wage successf warfare on the "battlefield of men's minds". Archibal MacLeish placed responsibility on UNESCO to en the cold war and to use every conceivable means t "restore the lost sense of human community".

A world-wide radio network is needed immediatel the commission decided, so that no governmental o other barriers can interfere with the fulfillment o UNESCO's purpose of "people speaking with people" At present 39 short-wave transmitters are available t UNESCO, and the Worldwide Broadcasting Found tion of Boston has offered its facilities until a Unite Nations radio station can be set up.

Rapprochement with Franco Spain?

A number of recent occurrences point to th disturbing conclusion that the United States is "sidlin up" to fascist Spain at precisely the time whe Franco's political and economic fortunes are at a lo ebb. Secretary of State Marshall reportedly has trie without success, to persuade Mr. Bevin and M. Schu man to join the United States in urging a modific tion of the 1946 United Nations ruling that amba sadors be withdrawn from Spain. Chairman Gurne of the Senate Armed Forces Committee maintained o his return from Europe that American relations wit Spain should lead, in the not distant future, to a outright military alliance and lend-lease.

The United States in these negotiations is man festly preparing a defense strategy that centers in th Iberian Peninsula and not on the Rhine frontiers, war with Russia should come. Some military analys in this country, and more in France and Britain, op pose this plan. A few intellectual leaders also questio whether preoccupation with military strategy can com pensate for serious blunders in what is clearly a lon range ideological war. Perhaps the most amazing a pect of these dubious pro-fascist maneuvers with former Axis partner is the fact that they have arouse so little significant protest in this country.

WILL IT BE DINNER AS USUAL?

Thanksgiving, 1948

ve one day's pay to help complete the fund being sed by the United States and more than fifty other ıntries to save the world's children from slow death hunger and disease. Send contributions to the ited Nations Appeal for Children, Lake Success, w York.

ıd food packages through CARE. CARE has erated for two years in fifteen European counrties l has delivered approximately five and a half mil- ı American parcels. Through this agency it is now sible also to send parcels to individuals and groups Japan. For further information write to CARE ooperative for American Remittances to Europe), Broad Street, New York City.

lp European children to share in your children's iday celebrations by shipping gifts through Church rld Service. Send $3.00 to World Friendship among ldren, 214 East 21st Street, New York, 10, N.Y. to er the cost of shipping a package containing mit- s, wool caps, scarves, shirts, and similar items; or te for directions to follow in making up your own kages for shipment abroad.

ıtribute time and money to appeals for relief oad, issued through your church or synagogue. men and girls may wish to do their part by joining ir church or synagogue sewing circle in making ttes and other articles for overseas relief.

p to settle in homes and jobs your community's re of displaced persons or families who will be ıing to the United States within the next year. assistance in this project, write to the following ınizations:

Church World Service, 214 East 21st Street, New York (*Protestant*).

National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. (*Catholic*).

United Service for New Americans, 15 Park Row, New York. (*Jewish*).

What Do You Think?

From Mr. Augustin C. Keane, attorney at law in San Francisco, California, there has come an interesting letter with the following suggestion:

I am reminded of the incident in our own Constitutional Convention when Benjamin Franklin became oppressed by the failure of the delegates, after many weeks of meetings, to arrive at practicable agreements. Appearances justified the despair that the Constitutional Convention would disintegrate without serving any purpose in preserving the liberties which the lately revolted colonies had won. Then it was (at least apocryphally reported) that Franklin arose in one of the sessions of the Convention to call attention to the neglect of the delegates to have engaged in prayer in any form in connection with their deliberations, and he moved that thenceforth each session of the conference open with a prayer for Divine Guidance and close with a prayer for God's blessing upon what had been achieved. It is believed that from that moment forward the whole course of the Convention changed, and its work was speeded to the production of the Constitution which has since safeguarded democratic civilization in the United States.

Obviously it would be inappropriate to prescribe formal prayer for Christian, Jew, Moslem, Hindu or Buddhist, or for that matter for heathen or Communist in the United Nations. On the other hand I know of no formula which is more inspiring and sobering than the preamble to the Charter of the United Nations. Would it not be appropriate to propose that each session of the General Assembly and of the Security Council of the United Nations be opened with a reading of the Preamble to the Charter? It well may be noted that this Preamble is an affirmation of faith in human rights and of the dignity and worth potentially inherent in each individual person, and that to read it takes less than one minute.

A consideration in this connection which appeals greatly to me is the opening phrase of the Preamble itself: "We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined. . . ." If that concept can only be forced into the consciousness of all delegates to sessions of the United Nations then half the purposes for which the Charter was drawn will be automatically accomplished. The first Great Charter of Liberties opened pompously, "I, John, by Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou," and so sovereign pomposity proclaimed itself in all of the old charters, whether they may have been of "Louis, the most Christian King," or of "Ferdinand, the most Catholic King." The humble citizen first asserted himself in the preamble of our own constitution: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union," and since then it has been only "We, the people" who have grown and gone forward. That is the formula which was adopted by the United Nations — "We, the peoples of the United Nations." Only by impressing that realization upon each session of the consultative bodies provided by the Charter may we hope to outgrow the irresponsibility of sovereignties and the aggressiveness of nationalisms and achieve in fact a world alliance of united peoples.

Suggested Reading

The United States and China by John King Fairbank. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Mass. 384 pages. $3.75.

Without a doubt the foremost single volume work on China. Complete and candid, honest and forthright, realistic and factual. A real contribution to American thinking on a sorely vexed issue. One of the best in the distinguished American Foreign Policy Library edited by Sumner Welles.

The Great Rehearsal by Carl Van Doren. The Viking Press. New York. 352 pages. $3.75.

A convincing, scholarly presentation of how the origins of the American Constitution parallel the problems besetting the world today. Implicitly a plea for world government to avoid the disunity and chaos of nation states pursuing their own selfish objectives.

Civilization on Trial by Arnold J. Toynbee. Oxford Press, New York. 263 pages. $3.50.

Toynbee's sharpest critics, no less than his most unwavering admirers, agree that his writing has wit and charm, that his profound erudition reveals historical vistas and searching insight into our contemporary civilization. These essays have these qualities and will prove especially stimulating to those who ponder the meaning of history in our deeply troubled era.

The Silent People Speak by Robert St. John. Doubleday & Co., Inc., New York. 397 pages. $4.00.

Like *From the Land of Silent People,* his earlier book about the war years in the Balkans, this larger volume reveals St. John's deep sympathy and sure feeling for the people of the "new Yugoslavia". Vivid and touching vignettes of representative people from each section of the country depict with restrained passion the immense suffering, the tremendous war damages, the incredibly large number of casualties. St. John maintains, after the completion of an extended post-war trip through Yugoslavia, that the people for the most part back the Tito regime, that they enjoy reli gious freedom, that they are rebuilding the coun try with unbounded enthusiasm.

End of a Berlin Diary by William L. Shirer. Alfred A Knopf, New York. 376 pages. $3.50.

A somewhat more self-conscious but no les impressive sequel to *Berlin Diary* by an astute able news commentator. Really understands th nature of the Nazi menace which, he warns, is fa from dead. Profoundly concerned with the mak ing of the peace which, he notes, is far fron secure.

Letter from Grosvenor Square by John Gilbert Winant Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 279 pages. $3.00

The late and deeply lamented former Ambassa dor to the Court of St. James gives "an account o a stewardship". The story of a quietly sincer and humble man who helped knit Britain an America together in bonds of friendship durin the dark days of the war. A testament whic renders our sorrow at his absence all the mor poignant.

Persuade or Perish by Wallace Carroll. Houghto Mifflin Company, Boston. 392 pages. $4.00.

The head of psychological warfare operatio for the Office of War Information in 1942-45 pr sents his views on what kind of political warfar American should carry on in defending and e tending democracy against totalitarian threat Besides telling an interesting, engrossing story c OWI, Carroll outlines an impressive strateg which should prove effective for democracy in th crucial years before us.

RECOMMENDED MAGAZINE ARTICLES

Peace Pipe Dreams by Edgar Ansel Mowrer. (*The Saturd Review of Literature,* September 18, 1948).

Coalition for Peace by Hamilton Fish Armstrong. (*Foreig Affairs,* October, 1948).

Education in An Armed Truce by James Bryant Conan (*Atlantic Monthly,* October, 1948). This is one chapter fro the forthcoming book, *Education in a Divided World.*

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